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The Abolition Cause eventually triumphant.

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S E R M O N ,

DELIVERED BEFORE

THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

OF

H A V E R H I L L , M A S S .

AUG. 1836.

BY REV. DAVID ROOT,

DOVER, N. H.

ANDOVER:

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1836.

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Haverhill, 10th 8th mo. 1836.

At a special meeting of the Haverhill Anti-Slavery Society, held on the 2nd inst., after the Address of Rev. David Root, on motion of Hon. G. Parker, it was "*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to request of Rev. D. Root a copy of his able and eloquent Address for publication;" and Gilman Parker, John G. Whittier, and E. Hale, Jr. were appointed said committee.

J. G. WHITTIER, *Secretary*.

Rev. D. Root,

In conformity with the above vote, as well as the dictates of our feelings, the undersigned respectfully request for publication a copy of your Address delivered in this town on the 2nd inst.

G. PARKER,
JOHN G. WHITTIER, } *Committee.*
E. HALE, JR.

DOVER, N. H. Aug. 24, 1836.

To G. Parker, and others, Committee,

GENTLEMEN,—In answer to your note requesting a copy of the discourse recently delivered in Haverhill, for publication, I have only to say, that to be instrumental, in any degree, of advancing the cause of human rights, gives me unfeigned pleasure. If you think the publication of the discourse in question calculated to promote the great work of emancipation, it is at your disposal.

DAVID ROOT.

S E R M O N .

JEREMIAH 50: 33, 34.

"Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the children of Israel and the children of Judah were oppressed together ; and all that took them captives held them fast ; they refused to let them go. Their Redeemer is strong ; the Lord of hosts is his name, he shall thoroughly plead their cause, that he may give rest to the land."

MALACHI 3: 5.

"And I will come near to you to Judgment, and I will be a swift witness against those that oppress the hireling in his wages, the widow and the fatherless, and that turn aside the stranger from his right, and fear not me, saith the Lord."

REVELATION 18: 11, etc.

"And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her; for no man buyeth her merchandize any more ;—the merchandize of beasts and sheep and horses and chariots *and slaves and souls of men.*"

THE prominent thought presented in the above passages is, that with whatever tenacity oppressors may hold the victims of their oppression, the time is at hand when slavery shall be wholly and forever abolished.

That they do hold them with great tenacity is manifest. In the language of the prophet, "They hold their captives fast, and refuse to let them go." It is wonderful to observe to what shifts, contradictions, and threats, slaveholders resort to retain possession of their fellow men. All that the prophets have said in the foregoing passages touching this point, is now verified in this land.

Not long since it was pleaded in justification of slavery, that though an evil, a great evil, it could not be remedied. But since philanthropists have shown to demonstration, the duty, practicability and safety of immediate emancipation, the plea is, that slave-

ry is a "divine institution," justified by the word of God, the glory of our land, "the corner-stone of our republican edifice."

At one time, it is a most mild, consistent, and reasonable system; and then anon it must not be discussed, lest the public mind should be shocked with its enormities.

We are told that the slaves are contented and happy, faring a great deal better than northern laborers, and not wishing to leave their masters if they could. At the same time we see southern papers filled with advertisements of runaway slaves, offering great rewards for their apprehension. How strange it is that they should make such attempts, and hazard so much, to get away from contentment and happiness!

At one time, we hear that slave-holders would be glad to get rid of their slaves—that they are a burden to them. And then again they are fixed in their purpose never to yield this species of property. A burden, and yet they will not part with it.

The slaves have great affection for their masters, it is said, so that they would not injure a hair of their heads. And yet these same masters are often in a state of alarm, and sleep with their pistols under their heads, for fear of surprise and insurrection.

They have fortified their oppressions and fastened their victims by the most severe and despotic laws; and yet this very despotism is attempted to be disguised under the plausible name of "domestic relations."

They threaten to blow up the union rather than relinquish their iron grasp upon their fellow men. And yet there is not probably a considerate slave-holder south of Mason and Dixon's line, who would not feel himself in ten-fold jeopardy, if that union were dissolved, if he could not depend upon northern protection, northern arms and northern valor. They know, and we know, that the dissolution of the union would be a death blow to slavery.

They claim to be accounted chivalrous, but is it chivalrous to oppress the poor and defenceless? They profess to be candid and reasonable; and yet the very mention of slavery sometimes throws them into the utmost phrenzy; and they would stop their ears, and gnash their teeth, and like the bulls of Bashan, rush

upon the man who should attempt in person to convince them of their inconsistency and sin.

Such are some of the inconsistencies to which slave-holders and their abettors are driven, in consequence of their tenacity in holding fast the iniquitous system. Suffice it to say, there is not an argument used, nor an apology offered for slavery in this country, which might not, with equal propriety and force, be applied by Algerines in defence of the abject vassalage to which they have reduced the *Christian dogs* whom they have captured ; not an argument used, nor an apology offered for American slavery, which might not have been employed by Pharaoh in defence of his tyranny ; which might not be employed by the Autocrat of Russia, in defence of his unjust domination. Do American slave-holders plead the constitution or the laws of the land, or the peculiar policy of the government ? so may the Dey of Algiers. So might have Pharaoh. So may Nicholas, for his subjugation of the Poles. Do American slave-holders talk of their "domestic relations" to cover up the vilest despotism, and to repel interference ? So may Algerine slave-holders.

But the only right by which an American or an Algerine slave-holder retains his victim, is that of brute force ; no other right than force, brute force. The American slave-holder robs the colored man, because he has the power to do so, and is disposed to exercise it. The Algerine slave-holder robs the Christian upon whom he has seized, because he has the power to do so, and is disposed to exercise it. In both these instances, as well as in that of Pharaoh, the declaration of the Prophet is verified : "They hold fast their captives ; they refuse to let them go." And we hazard the declaration, that there is no despot on earth, and never has been since the world was made, whose right to the exercise of oppression was not as good and as valid as that by which the American slave-holder retains the victims of his power. This declaration we challenge any man to invalidate. And yet the tenacity and hardihood with which he holds them, seems to be just in proportion to the injustice and unsoundness of his claim. "They hold them fast."

It must not, however, be understood by these remarks, that

we cherish any hostile or unkind feelings toward our southern fellow-citizens ; nor would we arrogate to ourselves any original superior excellence of moral character. Placed in their circumstances, we might in like manner have yielded to the temptation, and acted a similar part. In point of original moral character, we claim no superiority. But this fact does not neutralize *their* wrong doing, nor exonerate *us* from the duty of bearing testimony against it.

And certain it is, that however unyielding may be the grasp of oppressors, "God will be a swift witness against them," "He will thoroughly plead the cause of the oppressed." We are assured indeed, that the time is at hand, when the merchandize of souls shall cease, "For no man buyeth their merchandize any more, the merchandize 'of slaves and souls of men.' "

Then will slavery become extinct throughout this nation, and throughout the world. Then will follow the world's jubilee. O the delightful anticipations of that auspicious day, when man shall no longer enslave his fellow man, when the sacred birth-right of liberty, not in name, but in truth and in deed, shall be enjoyed by men of every race, and every complexion, and every character.

Our main proposition then, as derived from the sacred passages quoted, is, that the ultimate triumph of the Abolition cause is certain. Let us see what considerations there are to confirm its truth. And

1. We argue the ultimate triumph of the abolition cause from the fact, that abolition principles are based upon the word of God.

If this cause were of man's device, it might come to nought ; but it rests upon the eternal principles of God's truth, and cannot be overthrown. The essential principles of abolitionism are generally known. They hardly need be repeated. If, however, I were to sum them up in few words, I would say that slavery is sin, a heinous violation of the law of God, and an outrageous infraction of the dictates of natural justice ; because it recognizes human beings as property, degrading them to the condition of cattle, robbing them of their just earnings, annihilating the law

of marriage, disrupting those endearing relations of domestic and social life which God has established, introducing a state of universal concubinage, breaking up families, neutralizing the authority of the parent over the child, forcibly separating parents and children, husband and wife, exposing them to be sold to a returnless distance from each other, and finally, excluding them from the means of moral and intellectual improvement, dooming them to perpetual ignorance, thus cutting them off, legally and systematically cutting them off from the consolations of religion, and the hope of heaven ; that such being the features and fruits of slavery, it ought to be immediately abandoned.

Such a system of oppression the Scriptures do not any where justify. We say it, and say it advisedly, that there is not an instance of involuntary servitude justified in the Scriptures, but as a punishment for sin. But to oppress men, to hold men in involuntary servitude, is every where condemned, is to violate every command contained in the second table of the law.

Moreover, we believe, and the dictates of natural justice confirm the sentiment, that men possess inalienable rights, such as "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Who doubts that these principles are based upon the word of God and the law of Nature, and therefore must prevail ? Indeed few men question the correctness of our principles. It would seem as if none but a Nero or a McDuffie would venture to impeach principles so obviously true, reasonable and scriptural.

Could I find the Bible, upon a fair interpretation, justifying and sanctioning slavery as it exists in these United States, with me, it would be a sufficient reason for its rejection. I could not admit that to be the word of God which justifies a system of oppression so abhorrent to all our feelings of justice, of truth, and of righteousness. No, I would say, whatever else it may be, it cannot be the Book of God.

My hearers, there are certain principles so intuitively true, that all attempts to prove them so, are like attempts to prove the light of the sun in a clear sky, at noon-day, and only involve them in obscurity and confusion. If you deny me the right to use my own bones and muscles for my own benefit, how am I to

prove that right? It is a moral axiom, than which nothing can be plainer. Argument would only darken counsel.

But there is another thought connected with this subject which we may venture to suggest. If the proposition that men possess inalienable rights be denied, or as some affirm, be only a "rhetorical flourish," the consequence is inevitable, that you stultify the patriotic fathers of our country, and present those heroic worthies as toiling, bleeding, and dying for the attainment of a "rhetorical flourish."

If it be not true that slavery is sin, a flagrant violation of justice, then no principle in morality or religion is true. We are all afloat upon the broad ocean of scepticism; and justice, and truth, and right, are names which have no meaning.

But our principles are true, being based upon the word of God and the law of nature; and the more they are examined and assailed, the more firm and immoveable will they prove, and must eventually prevail.

2. We argue the ultimate triumph of the abolition cause from the fact that the measures employed for its advancement are such as God has hitherto owned and blessed, and such as reformers in every age have used successfully.

What are the measures of abolitionists? Their measures then, allow me to remark, grow out of their principles, are the practical operation of their principles. And their principles, so far as action on the subject is concerned, are peaceful, not offensive, not invasive, not belligerent. Their principles forbid them to wage war upon oppressors and to spill human blood in defence of freedom. Their principles forbid the "doing of evil that good may come," and lead them to reject, and to entreat the oppressed to reject, the use of all carnal weapons for their deliverance from bondage, and to rely solely upon those which are spiritual and mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds."

The measures of abolitionists then, to use the expressive language of their declaration, "are the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption, the destruction of error by the potency of truth, the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love, and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance." In short they

propose to abolish slavery by a kind but efficient moral influence ; by exhibiting the truth in relation to this subject, and convincing all men that slavery is a crime most offensive to God and most destructive of human happiness ; and thus to effect a revolution in public sentiment which shall ensure the demolition of this dreadful system of oppression.

They propose to reach the hearts of all Christians, by shewing them and convincing them that the God of justice and the God of the poor is angry with this nation every day and cannot long tolerate the wrongs endured by our oppressed, afflicted countrymen ; by convincing them that it is their duty, their solemn and imperious duty, to remember by prayer and by corresponding efforts in their behalf, "those in bonds as bound with them."

They propose to persuade all ministers of the Gospel, of every denomination, to bring their talents and influence to the aid of this great enterprise, fearless of the reproaches of mercenary and ungodly men ; to convince them that they have no right to pass by this subject with indifference, no right by their inaction or opposition to countenance oppressors and to perpetuate the crying sin of this nation.

They propose to persuade the whole church universal to bear a solemn and decided testimony against this abomination ; and to convince all men, citizens, patriots, philosophers, lovers of humanity and lovers of God, that our land is disgraced, our prosperity blighted, the councils of the nation disturbed, thwarted, confounded by slavery, that even slaveholders themselves would gain much by doing justice and letting the oppressed go free, and that the severest judgments of heaven are upon us, if we abandon not this system of oppression.

In fine, our measures are moral, spiritual. Our plan is persuasion. Our arms are the principles and precepts of the Gospel—our munition, the God of Israel.

Are not these the measures which God has hitherto owned and blessed ? Are not these the measures which reformers in every age have employed and employed successfully ? You would not have us resort to arms ; you could not persuade us to adopt forcible measures. We therefore exhort, entreat, beseech. It

is our privilege, nay, more, it is our duty to endeavor to persuade men to abandon that which is wrong and to do that which is right. What objection have you then to these measures? What objection to them do you find in the word of God? Nay, has not God commanded us to use these very measures, "to cry aloud and spare not—to shew the people their sins."

But you say, perhaps, that abolitionists are severe, harsh, uncharitable, using hard names. Perhaps they have been so in some instances. I will not say that they have not. Indeed I think they have. But then, we are bound to consider how wantonly they have been provoked. The laws of the land have afforded them comparatively no protection. And professedly good men have countenanced and connived at the outrages which they have suffered. Our own brethren, in the hour of peril, have deserted and betrayed us.

And then too, may not much of this seeming severity and harshness be attributed to your want of adequate views of the enormity of slavery and the cowardice, treachery and guilt of those who apologize for it. If you had a proper sense of the crime and guilt of those who trample upon the rights and traffick in the blood of their fellow men, you might not think the epithets used by abolitionists so severe.

We all remember the time when the advocates for temperance were accused of great harshness and severity, because they declared distillers and dealers in strong drink accessory to the crimes and responsible for the miseries which followed its use. But it was because men had no adequate sense of the enormity of the spirit trade. It is not so now. The business of making and vending ardent spirits is regarded as the business of destroying the souls and bodies of men; and the distiller and retailer are viewed by sober men, as enemies to the State and to the best interests of society, no better than swindlers, mercenary, unprincipled men, living upon the very vitals of the community.

I remember, some ten years since, I knew a Deacon who was wont to sell rum and distribute bibles. He was thought to be a very good man, and it would have seemed severe and harsh to have called him a coadjutor of Satan. But he was, and men

now see it, and understand it. And it is not thought uncharitable to call distillers and dealers in the poisonous beverage copartners with the devil in the trade of death.

So, my hearers, some years hence, you may not think the epithets employed by abolitionists so severe and uncharitable, nor their measures so violent. We certainly disclaim every measure which is not kind and conciliatory. We have no fellowship with any thing which savours of malice, revenge or retaliation. But while we would be kind and conciliatory, we must be faithful and call things by their right names. This is our kindness, that we speak "the truth in love." We cannot separate sin from the sinner for the sake of sheltering his conscience. We believe that slave-holders are designated in the Scriptures by the term, "men-stealers," and we call them so. We believe that those who rob their fellow-men of their liberty, are robbers in the worst sense, and we say so. We believe that those who apologize for slavery and countenance the oppressor, partake of his guilt, and we say so.

Now these plain, honest, straight-forward measures, we believe God will own and bless. We believe he will make his truth effectual, to the subversion of this iniquitous system. God's truth was mighty in the hands of the Apostles; it was mighty in the hands of the great Reformers; and it will be no less so, we trust, when wielded by faithful men in these times. Let the subject be agitated and agitated, argument added to argument, and illustrations multiplied upon illustrations, the whole field of discussion traversed again and again, and the strong points reiterated and urged, until the public mind and the public conscience shall be thoroughly enlightened and rectified, and the work of abolition is done. Nothing but light and love are wanting to abolitionize the whole North. And how long think you, before "the South would give up, if the North kept not back?" What candid mind will object to these measures?

3. We argue the ultimate triumph of the abolition cause from the admitted fact, that the American churches are to exert an important instrumentality in the conversion of the world.

No one contemplating intelligently the state of the world, and

the signs of the times, can doubt, that the favored churches of America are to bear a very signal part in the work of introducing the millennium. But this they cannot do while they countenance, and cherish, and uphold this most unrighteous system of heathenism. God will not bless their instrumentality ; God will not crown their efforts with final success ; God will not permit a slave-holding church to convert the world. It is arrant mockery, it is sheer hypocrisy for the Christians of America to talk of converting the world, while they supinely allow two millions of their own countrymen to remain in legalized heathenism.

The Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, in their annual report on the state of religion in 1834, say, that the colored population of the South are the heathen of America, and in point of ignorance and moral degradation, will bear comparison with the heathen in any other country on the face of the globe.

We rejoice that this fact has come out, that it has come from such good and unquestionable authority. Let this fact ring through our churches,—it ought to ring through our churches, until the cheek of every professing Christian is mantled with shame, who will not come to the work of delivering these our captive and heathenized countrymen. O, talk no more of your commiseration for the Hindoo, and Hottentot, and South Sea Islander. Your charities for men on the other side of the globe will hardly be regarded a pure offering in the sight of God, while you neglect your poor brother who stands pleading at your door. “He cannot away” with such charities ; they are an offence unto Him, while with Priest and Levite indifference and hardheartedness, you turn away from him whom your own avarice has helped to bind, and rob, and heathenize. Such charities savor too much of deceit, and insincerity, and gross inconsistency to be accounted pure philanthropy, and heavenly benevolence. Your religion is a partial, one-sided religion. It freely distributes bibles to white men, but has no bibles for colored men. It sends the word of life to white men all over the world, but there are hundreds, and thousands, and tens of thousands of colored men in this Christian land who live, and labor, and die, and never hear of the plan of salvation by Jesus

Christ. But is God the God of the white man, and is he not also the God of the colored man ?

I say your religion is a partial, one-sided, person-respecting religion, and so it will shortly be viewed by the heathen abroad, and thus the instrumentality of the American churches will eventually be neutralized. Christ will say to them in tones of rebuke, as he is indeed now saying to them : " These things ye ought to have done and not to leave the other undone."

This abomination, my hearers, must be removed out of the way, or the chariot wheels of the gospel can never roll on to the conversion of the world. O, I wish I could make you sensible, that your heart is not right with God, whatever you may profess, while you have no proper sympathy for your poor brother who is shut out from all the charities of life. You need not think that your offerings are worth any thing, nor console yourself with the notion that you are doing very well. Though your contributions for other objects be ever so abundant, if you do not remember your brother in bonds, God knows that you are not doing well ; and there is a palpable discrepancy in your character and conduct. You are charitable toward objects abroad ; why are you not charitable toward objects at home ? Is it because it would cost you the sacrifice of interest, and of reputation ? Is it because you would be reproached as belonging to a miserable set of fanatics ? Remember, that " he that is guilty of the least, is guilty of the whole," for the least deliberate transgression is a test of moral character.

Now the question is, my hearers, will your charity go through all the prejudice which hedges up your way, and all the reproach, and persecution which you may suffer, and reach the poor slave through the uncomely and repulsive covering in which he is invested, and there labor to break his chains, to unfetter his spirit, to allay his anguish, to improve and elevate his character, and make him happy ? This is the touch-stone. This is the test act. If your charity will not do this, it may justly be pronounced defective, utterly defective.

We say again, the American churches cannot labor advantageously for the conversion of the world, while they continue to

participate in this abomination of this land, and until indeed it be rolled out of the way. It imposes a load of guilt upon them, which must essentially embarrass their operations. Slavery must hang as a mill-stone about their necks, to sink them to the lowest state of apostasy and ruin. Their hands will wax weak and their hearts faint, and they will labor under all the disadvantage of conscious inconsistency and hypocrisy.

But the American churches, we believe, are to exert a prominent instrumentality in the conversion of the world. We feel assured therefore, that they will ere long wash their hands of this iniquity, and that deliverance will consequently come to the long neglected captives of America ; for it is the churches who uphold slavery in this land. Let the churches, let the good men of our country, the seventeen thousand ministers of the gospel, and the one million of Christians, cease to give their countenance and influence to sustain slavery ; let them bear a faithful testimony against it, and this horrid system would soon be abolished.

4. We argue the ultimate triumph of the abolition cause from the character of the men who are engaged in it.

There are always, indeed, exceptions. We speak likewise only of their general character. We mean merely to say, that they are men who will not go back. Their course is onward. They have enlisted during the war. Their principles have taken deep root in their hearts. They have set down and counted the cost. They expect a severe and perhaps a protracted struggle ; but they have made up their minds never to give up the ship, sink or swim, live or die. Hence you may mark it well, that neither reproach, nor revilings, nor the sacrifice of property, nor the loss of reputation, nor the violence of mobs, have been able to drive them, neither from their principles, nor from their position.

There was indeed, one abolitionist down East somewhere, (we know nothing of the character of the man,) who travelled in Virginia, and who, either overcome by the hospitality which he received, or awed by the threats which he heard, published a kind of recantation of his sentiments.

We have heard of some few others, supposed to be abolition-

ists, one of whom built a vessel and sent it to the Southern States, and it was said that his abolitionism floated off in that vessel. Now the interpretation in such instances of defection, are found in the following language addressed to an abolitionist by an individual who said, (and doubtless with him it was a great argument) "Sir, if you continue to agitate that subject, they will not freight our ships, they will not send us cotton." As if the freighting of ships, and the sending of cotton, were paramount to the claims of justice, and truth, and righteousness. Alas! how has interest, sordid interest eaten out of the hearts of such men every principle of rectitude, every humane sentiment. You see, my hearers, that it is not difficult to divine how these things come to pass.

In general, however, they are men steadfast in their principles, who do not trim to the popular breeze. Let the wind blow high or blow low, you know where to find them, steadfastly adhering to their principles. Their principles they will not give up, be the consequences what they may. They are not expediency men, sacrificing principle to accommodation, and thus neutralizing every command of God, and every dictate of justice.

In short, in one point of view especially, in their steadfast integrity of character, they resemble the patriots of the revolution, and the Pilgrim Fathers of our own New-England. It was principle for which those former worthies stood. It was not the pecuniary consideration connected with the tea tax, but the principle involved, which roused them. They said, give us principle,—give us principle,—give us principle. We care not for the threepenny assessment, but we will not be taxed without our consent; we will not be taxed without representation.

So abolitionists hold it "to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, possessing certain inalienable rights, as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" "that we ought to do unto others as we would that others should do unto us," that no man has a right to hold his fellow-man as property, and that he who does it, ought to cease from doing it, *immediately*.

These are our principles. These principles we cannot abandon. No power on earth can cause us to abandon them. "Neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor

things present, nor things to come, nor height nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from them."

Now we aver, that these principles will carry the abolition cause onward to success. And while we are aware that nothing but principle will do it, we are equally aware that principle *will* do it. Yes, my hearers, principle, christian principle will do it. Men cherishing steadfastly these christian principles which we have named are not easily put to flight. "They may be perplexed, but never will they despair," may be defeated, but never conquered.

Indeed, my hearers, in this cause we do not want time-serving weathercock adherents. We do not want men who will shift their ground for the sake of popular favor. We do not want men who are afraid to act lest it should prejudice their interest. In short, we do not want men who would sell their principles for a piece of bread. We have no use for such men. Our cause is to be carried by men who will hazard all for principle, and whose spirits are indomitable. No others are worthy to be the defenders of the sacred birthright of liberty.

5. Again, we argue the ultimate triumph of the abolition cause from the reckless spirit and measures of its opponents.

Of course, we do not mean moderate men whose minds are yet balancing on this subject ; but we mean those ultra anti-abolitionists, those pro-slavery men who are trampling in the dust the dearest rights of American citizens in their puny and unavailing attempts to arrest the progress of free discussion and free principles. Their spirit and measures have been wanton, reckless, fanatical. Misrepresentation and violence have been the weapons of their warfare. When misrepresentation would not answer they have gathered and instigated the mob.

It is lamentable to think, how egregiously the public mind has been abused in regard to abolitionists, their principles and measures, their objects and means of accomplishing them. No class of men were ever more vilely slandered, none more unjustly exposed to violence. Unprincipled politicians, crouching editors, and consequential demagogues have shamefully blinded the mass of the community in regard to the merits of this whole sub-

ject. But for *their* misrepresentations and falsehoods, with honest men and Christians there would probably have been but one opinion in regard to the abolition of slavery in these United States.

Must not that be a despicable cause which has recourse to such unjust and dishonorable modes of warfare? Wretched indeed must be the enterprize of those who resort to misrepresentation and violence, whose principal weapons are not arguments, but falsehood and brute force. It does not require the spirit of prophecy to perceive that opposition which depends on such base measures must be without foundation in truth and righteousness, and of course unavailing.

And then too, observe the recklessness of their proceedings. They have trodden the laws of the land under foot for the purpose of wreaking their malice upon citizens who had violated no law, but whose plain dealing with slavery they could not endure. Trial by jury in many instances they have abolished, and like Robespierre, Marat, Danton and other French Revolutionists of bloody memory, assumed the prerogative of administering justice in their own summary way. As a consequence, unoffending citizens, not a few, have been abused, condemned, scourged, and in some instances hung up at noon-day. Even men of God in the prosecution of their appropriate work of expounding and applying His word, have been arrested and rudely dragged before magistrates, not unlike the Man of Nazareth before Pilate.

A *lawless* judge, in the plenitude of his wisdom, or rather folly and fanaticism, gravely decides, that if "the many" undertake in a given instance, lawlessly to plunder and rob and burn men alive, they are to be tolerated. And a Rev. judge sits the presiding genius, the master spirit of an organized mob to destroy the property and abuse the person of a man of the most peaceful spirit and of unimpeachable character, and whose only offence was, that he dared to assert his constitutional right to liberty of speech and of the press.*

* In illustration of what the author has said above, look at the reckless conduct of the aristocracy of Cincinnati, at a recent mob-meeting held in that city to crush James Birney. Resolutions were passed of the most incendiary character, and a committee were appointed, not to

A chief magistrate of one of the States pronounces slavery a blessing, the corner stone of liberty, and craves the wretched inheritance for his children ; and lest his sincerity should be suspected in making an assertion so preposterous and perverse, confirms it with a solemn asseveration. Yes, my hearers, Southern statesmen have suggested, that the slave system should be introduced at the North and our laboring men and women be reduced to bondage ; that our prosperity will not be complete, nor the state of society perfect until we adopt the slave policy. Let the descendants of the pilgrims, let our laboring men, our mechanics, the operatives in our factories, the free yeomanry of New England think of that, and ponder it in their hearts.

A prominent editor proclaims the Declaration of Indepen-

discuss the subject of difference fairly with Mr. Birney, but to ask him, if he would consent to be muzzled, and if he would not, why, they would not harm him, and should be sorry, if he was harmed, but in the mean time, they would "cry havoc, and let slip the dogs of violence." What base cowardice and treachery to the cause of liberty !! Why did they not go and expostulate with the men of violence, the real movers of sedition ? They knew who were the wire-pullers ; perhaps themselves among the number. Indeed there can be little doubt from all the circumstances of the affair, that Jacob Burnet, Josiah Lawrence, Oliver M. Spencer and others of the committee who acted, and William Burke, and even the Mayor, were, all the while, secretly conniving at the intended outrage ; else why did they not refuse to act in behalf of that lawless assemblage, and decidedly protest against their violent proceedings, instead of becoming their executors to do a business from which every honorable and law-abiding man would instinctively shrink. No doubt, these men have acquired a notoriety not unlike that of the wretch who burned the temple of Diana, infamous. To be recognized by posterity as a tory of the Revolution will be honorable, compared with the infamy of him who shall be known to have taken part in reducing an upright and law-abiding man to the alternative of choosing between the surrender of constitutional freedom on the one hand and mob-violence on the other.

Whatever complacency these men may now feel in the popularity of their proceedings, if God don't forget them in the day of retribution, they will find it no light matter to answer for the countenance which they have thus given to riotous and bloody men. Only to neglect to protect Mr. Birney in his constitutional right was enough, under those circumstances, to establish their guilt. They ought to have hazarded much to defend him. That would have been as chivalrous and praiseworthy as what they did do was cowardly and base.

————— EDIT.

dence, as to its fundamental principle, a rhetorical flourish, and scores of men may be found even in New England who from considerations of a miserable time-serving policy, attempt to justify this horrid system of oppression and robbery. And sons, aye, how shall I utter it, sons, degenerate sons of the very fathers who toiled and bled in defence of freedom, are now seen shamelessly joining hands with the oppressor. O, was there ever such treachery to the cause of liberty, such an abandonment of human rights, such fearful infatuation.

My hearers, it is not difficult to perceive on which side of this contest the devil has taken his stand. Nor is it difficult to perceive who are they that must be vanquished; for whom God designs to destroy, he infatuates.

They say, that we are fanatical and infatuated, but if any thing was wanting to show that the fanaticism and infatuation are on the other side, it would be this wicked, reckless determination to close their eyes and hearts upon this subject. They refuse to read, they refuse to hear. They have waged a war of extermination upon every press in the land which dares to publish the truth on the subject of slavery. What more certain characteristic of infatuation?

And it is mortifying to be compelled to say, that otherwise decent, respectable, and apparently benevolent men seem to have strangely hardened their hearts on this subject. They are unwilling to come to the light lest they should find themselves reprovèd, lest they should be constrained to sympathize with the oppressed. They will not open their eyes lest the light of truth should flash conviction upon their hearts. They do not wish to hear any thing on this subject, lest they should be converted.

How appropriately are such men described by the Saviour. "He that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to light, lest his deeds should be reprovèd." And by the prophet when he says, "their eyes have they closed; lest at any time they should see with their eyes and hear with their ears and understand with their hearts and be converted." Against those who thus closed their eyes and ears, our Saviour uttered the most fearful denunciations. The crime is the same in every age. If this be not infatuation, we know not what is infatuation.

6. We argue the ultimate triumph of the abolition cause from the spirit of the age and the progress of free principles in other countries.

The spirit of the age is against slavery. The spirit of improvement is against slavery. The spirit of benevolent enterprise is against slavery. The spirit of literature is against slavery. It is disreputable every where. American slave-holders are fast becoming the gazing stock of the civilized world. The whole amount of British literature will soon be brought to bear down upon American despotism. O'Connell's voice *will* be heard; and Thompson's voice too will be heard. And we may calculate upon all that is praiseworthy in the spirit of missions, all that is truly philanthropic in the benevolence of the age, for that will soon come to our aid.

And then too, look at the progress of free principles in other countries. England is free. The British West India Islands are free. France is moving on the subject of slavery, and will soon abolish it in her colonies. South America is free with one exception, and even there overtures are making for the entire abolition of slavery. Mexico is free and contending against the Texians, who, countenanced and encouraged by American slave-holders and their abettors are treacherously attempting to reestablish the slave code. Will slavery, think you, endure against all these influences?

No, my hearers, slavery must be abolished. The spirit of the age has decreed its destruction. The spirit of benevolent enterprise has decreed its destruction. The spirit of the civilized world has decreed its destruction. The spirit of Christianity has decreed its destruction. God has decreed its destruction.

7. We argue the ultimate triumph of the abolition cause from the fact that the subject is fairly up.

The spirit of liberty is abroad, and there is no power in the land that can arrest it. Neither Southern despotism, nor Northern aristocracy, nor the policy of grave and calculating Professors who talk wisely against fanaticism, nor the false prudence of panic-struck clergymen who combine to keep the key of knowledge from the people and to shut out the claims of the poor and needy, shall be able to put down the rising spirit of liberty. The subject is fairly before the American people and they cannot suppress it

without bringing ten-fold infamy upon the American name, and the most fearful judgments of heaven upon this guilty land.

The subject is before the American churches. If it had not come up in the providence of God, and light in every direction been poured upon it with almost unutterable brightness, flashing conviction upon all hearts, they had been comparatively innocent in refusing to act. But now they cannot put it by without action. If they do, they must answer it to God. If they do, God will curse their prosperity. If they do shut up their bowels of compassion toward the outcast captives of this land and refuse to listen to their tale of woe, "how dwelleth the love of God in them?" In so doing, they incur the signal displeasure and the righteous retribution of heaven; "for he that stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor and needy shall himself cry and not be heard." Let the churches of these United States refuse to remember these Christ's poor, physically, mentally and morally incarcerated; let them apologize for this system of oppression and robbery; let them refuse to bear testimony against this enormity; if they dare do so, God will blast them with mildew and pining and death.

8. Finally, we argue the ultimate triumph of the abolition cause from its past success.

Who would have thought that a cause which has had to contend with prejudice, interest, civil authority and popular fury, would have gathered around it, in so short a time, such an amount of character, talent, and moral influence? No enterprise ever brought before the American people was more unpopular. It has gathered opposition from all quarters both civil and ecclesiastical.

The Roman powers hardly made greater efforts to crush the infant cause of Christ, than have the civil authorities of this land to annihilate abolitionism. And surely, the Jewish sanhedrim scarcely played a more wily game, nor pursued a more time-serving policy to arrest the heresy of the Son of Joseph, than have some ecclesiastical bodies, in this country, to stifle in christian hearts, the rising spirit of sympathy for the oppressed. And yet, this cause has steadily advanced, waxing stronger and stronger, and perpetually gathering new accessions of numbers and strength, of character, talent, and moral influence.

It gives us pleasure, when we survey the ground, to observe so many strong men becoming the decided advocates for the oppressed. In my own Granite State, and in this the Old Bay State which so forcibly reminds us of other times which tried men's souls, we see a host of the most venerable servants of God coming up to this work of delivering the long neglected captives of America. And even old Connecticut, memorable for her blue laws and signally shameful for her BLACK act, we trust will not be far behind. Even there, are visible the glorious first fruits of a future harvest to this cause.

Allow me to state a fact. During the six months following the breaking open of the mail in Charleston, S. C., we have been told, there were calls upon the Executive committee at New York, for ten thousand additional publications. Indeed the whole population of the land is beginning to read and hear, to be moved and roused on the subject of slavery. Societies are multiplying, and acquiring respect and influence. In some places where there was great opposition, there has been a signal and successful reaction in favor of human rights. Look at Utica and Rochester for examples.

The discussions in Congress during the past year, have rendered incalculable service to this enterprise. Many of the members, no doubt, meant it unto evil, but God meant it unto good. These discussions like the first preachers of the Gospel, went every where, telling much truth, exposing the abominations of slavery, and disclosing the deep and damning corruptions that are cherished at the very head and heart of this nation.

In short, time would fail me to tell of all our prosperity, as well as of our adversity, our trials, our persecutions. Nay, I mean not so, we have no adversity, no trials. We count it all joy, when we suffer for Christ's oppressed poor. We regard it as an occasion of gratitude to God, when we are recognized as worthy to endure reproach and trial for so good a cause.

I will only say, that our past success gives us assurance of ultimate triumph. And we have little doubt, but more funds might now be raised for this, than for most other benevolent enterprises before the christian public.

REMARKS.

1. How palpable is the inconsistency of those who say, we admit your principles, but we don't like your measures.

Our measures are but the practical operation of our principles; just the influence of our faith going out into practice. Our measures are the measures of prophets, of apostles, of Jesus Christ. Our method is persuasion. Our armour is truth. So it was theirs. We use no harder terms than did they. We have their example for our sanction.

2. We remark, that every peace man, to be consistent, should be an abolitionist.

We must cease our oppression, and do justice before we can expect peace. Peace and robbery cannot co-exist. With what face can you, can I, talk of peace, or expect peace, while I have my brother by the throat. There is a manifest inconsistency, a palpable discrepancy in such a character.

3. We must patiently bear with the unbelief, the slowness, the hardheartedness of those our brethren and friends who come not to our aid, who are unwilling to lend their influence to this cause.

It is indeed the most grievous part of our trials, and our hearts are pained when we think of it. While we know and feel that we are engaged in an enterprise of which God approves, having all the powers of the world and of the devil against us, that they should not only leave us to contend alone, but throw out their objections, and endeavor to obstruct the wheels of this benevolent enterprise, is indeed grievous to be borne. But have patience, brethren, have patience, and it shall all be well in the issue. It will indeed be thought strange in a few years, that any man who professed to love his God, or his country, should have refused his heart or his hand to this good work.

4. How greatly do they err, who think that abolitionists are to be put down by threats and violence.

It seems indeed strange, that amidst an enlightened and professedly christian community, resort should ever have been had to such vile and detestable measures. Indeed the rabble never would have attempted violence upon us, nor thought



of such a thing, had they not been instigated by mercenary men, and base politicians, and time-serving, truckling christian editors, who have chimed in with them.

But all such villainous attempts have only worked for the advancement of this enterprise. God has caused, and will cause the wrath of men to praise Him.

5. Let the friends of this cause be firm, and persevering. Let there be no flinching. Though we have the fullest assurance of final success, yet beloved hearers, great and increasing efforts are to be made—a desperate struggle may yet be witnessed. The church is to be sifted, and our land may be the theatre of mortal strife, of scenes, the recital of which shall “make the ears of him that heareth it to tingle,” of tragic scenes which shall make your hearts faint, and your hands weak; for as a nation, we are so deeply involved in guilt, that we can hardly believe that God will allow us to escape without his severest judgments. But He who “rides upon the wings of the wind, and maketh the storm a calm” shall be the strength of your hearts, and your unfailing Helper. “And the South shall finally give up, and the North keep not back, and our friends shall come from afar,” and all unite in delivering this oppressed people, and this guilty land.

In the mean time, let us bear in mind, that abolitionists are the only true friends of the South, and of the free institutions of our country, and that if they succeed not, our nation is ruined, our country is gone, lost, inevitably, and irretrievably lost.

Stand fast, then, in your integrity. Come life, or come death, hold fast your principles. Your principles are the principles of truth. Hold fast your cause; your cause is the cause of God. May the blessing of the Almighty, and the blessing of him who is ready to perish, come upon you. And let every individual before me, if he would be a friend of the poor and needy, and properly remember those in bonds, if he would be a friend to his country, or to his God, come to your aid, join your society, and identify himself with this glorious enterprise. That this cause of humanity and of God may soon be triumphant, is the earnest prayer of him who is permitted to address you on this occasion.

AMEN.

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